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Tokens and Counters from Early Bronze Age Jordan: The Case Study of KHirbat Al Batrāwī and Comparisons

Abstract

This paper is meant to be a first proposal for a new interpretation of a specific class of archaeological materials: lid/stoppers and pierced shells. It will present the analyses of typology and distribution of these tools in the storerooms of the “Palace of the Copper Axes” at KHirbat Al Batrāwī, comparing them with other preliminary analyses done on the materials from Tall Al ‘Umayrī and Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah. The results from this study already allow us to define another use of these two categories as tokens or, following the most recent interpretations from L. Bennisson Chapman, counters/counting tools.

Introduction: A Study of Tokens in the Southern Levant

This study arises from the necessity to answer an age-old question: how is it possible to develop urbanized

societies¹ with settlements as large as 15 hectares² without any trace of written documents before the late Middle Bronze Age? Given the smaller size of the settlements compared to the rest of the Near East during the Early Bronze Age, it is possible that another system of organizing goods was in place, simpler and more suited to a population the majority of which was almost illiterate. The token system, attested in this region up to the Chalcolithic Age³, could also

¹ About the topic of urbanization in the EBA Southern Levant, see Richard 1987; Mazar 1990; Ben-Tor 1992; Yoffee 1993; Finkelstein 1995; Philip 2001; Stager 2001; Genz 2002; Chesson and Philip 2003; Harrison and Savage 2003; Savage, Falconer, and Harrison 2007; Philip 2008; Chesson 2015; Greenberg 2017.

² For example, KHirbat Al Yarmūk (de Miroshedji 1999: 5). The recent studies about Tall As Sāfi/Gath have hypothesized a site extension of 24 hectares, but the analysis of the fortification lines leaves some doubts (Shai *et al.* 2016).

³ During the Chalcolithic Age, tokens appear very sporadically: a few clay tokens were found in the site of Tulaylāt Al GHasūl (Bourke 2002).

Table 1. Typologies of the tokens detected in the Early Bronze Age I–III sites of the Southern Levant.

Counting Tools/Counters		
Group A: Clay Counters	Group B: Pottery Counters	Group C: Other Materials
Typology A.1: plain shapes	Typology B.1: pottery disk (a= simple; b= perforated; c= punctuated)	Typology C.1: stone counters (spherical/ conical/ discoidal/dome-shaped)
Typology A.2: complex shapes	Typology B.2: squared sherds	Typology C.2 = shell counters <i>(Acanthocardia tuberculata/</i>
	Typology B.3: hexagonal sherds	<i>Cerastoderma edule/ Cerastoderma glaucum)</i>

have been revived in the Early Bronze Age, but given the “simplistic” nature of the tools used, it could have been previously misunderstood in archaeological excavations.

It should be noted that, by system of tokens, we no longer refer to the classic interpretation of D. Schmandt-Besserat, who first identified and studied them in the 1980s (Schmandt-Besserat 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1989, 1992, 1996), but rather will consider the interpretation recently formulated by L. Bennison-Chapman, which sees tokens as “multifunctional tools” related more to the social than to the economic sphere, *i.e.*, tools for counting and recording certain data concerning both agricultural products and also any other objects (Bennison-Chapman 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2020). For this reason, it is preferable to use the denomination “counting tools” rather than the term tokens. This interpretation is better suited to the use of tokens in different historical periods (Schmandt-Besserat 1992) and in contexts with a different level of development, from the simple domestic unit to the complex village and palatine quarter.

Given the nature of the tokens, a concise and well-defined methodology is required, based mainly on archaeological data and comparison with documented and ascertained case studies, which will be published separately. The study of the contexts of the Early Bronze Age I–III in the southern Levant has led to the development of a typology of tokens, presented here in a preliminary form (TABLE 1).

The first group represents the classic tokens. The classic examples of tokens were made of raw clay; however, tokens made of stone or perishable materials such as wood can also be found. Classic tokens are divided into “plain shapes” (Typology A.1), which have simple and geometric shapes, and “complex shapes” (Typology A.2), biconical, rhomboidal, or even miniaturized representations of small containers or tools. Up to now, only simple shapes have been attested in the southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age. The second group represents tools obtained from the recycling of potsherds through the hammering of the vessels’ walls or bases until they assume the shape of a large disc between 3 and 7 cm in diameter, with a thickness between

Table 2. Distribution of the pottery discs in the site of KHirbat Al Batrāwī.

Period	Dating	Stratigraphy	Egyptian Dynasties	Site interpretation
EB IB	3200–3000	-	Dynasty 0 Dynasty 00	Concentration of surrounding rural villages
EB II	3000–2700	Phase 5	I–II Dynasty	Fortified city
EB IIIA	2700–2500	Phase 4b–a	III–IV Dynasty	
BA IIIB	2500–2300	Phase 3d–b	V Dynasty	
BA IVA	2300–2200	Phase 3a	VI Dynasty	Abandonment
BA IVB	2200–2000	Phase 2g–a	First Intermediate Period	Rural village

0.70 and 1.5 cm⁴ (Typology B.1). From the results of the analyses, it seems that the pottery disc is the most frequent type in the southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age, though several examples of sherds hammered into squares (Typology B.2) (see for example Tall Al Ḥuṣn/Beth Shean (Mazar and Rotem 2012: 356, fig. 9.2:7) and Tall Al ‘Umayrī (London 1991: 409) and hexagonal shapes (Typology B.3) are also attested (examples come from Tall Al Ḥuṣn/Beth Shean (Mazar and Rotem 2012, fig. 9.7) and Tell es-Sultan/Jericho [unpublished materials]).

The third group is divided in two main typologies: the first one (Typology C.1) includes tools with the same shapes contained in Group A but made with other materials. The second class (Typology C.2) represents some malacological species that have been previously identified as counters, *Acanthocardia tuberculata* and *Cerastoderma edule/Cerastoderma glaucum* (de Vaux 1961:

⁴ D. Schmandt-Besserat interpreted these as tokens of sub-typologies 3.84 (“reworked sherd”) and 3.85 (“reworked painted sherd”). These tools started to appear in the Neolithic Age sites in Anatolia and Syria, as Tall Kurdu (Yener *et al.* 2000: fig. 18:8), Umm Al Qseir (Tsuneki 1998: 108–122) and Tall Saby Abyad (Costello 2002). Other examples were found in Iran, in the sites of Hajji Firuz Tepe (Voigt 1983: 185), Ganj Dareh (Smith 1974: 167), Djaffarabad (Dollfus 1972) and Susa (Schmandt-Besserat 1992: 23, fig. 18.6).

577, 583, pl. XLVI:a; Tubb and Dorrell 1994: 63; Tubb 1998; Bar-Yosef Mayer 2007: 198; Nigro 2010a: 78, fig. 4.3). The site of Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah represents the main study case for this typology.

The study of the contexts from the “Palace of the Copper Axes” in KHirbat Al Batrāwī has proven fundamental for the study and identification of tokens, because the typological and spatial analysis of the materials found inside it has made it possible to identify the Typology B.1. For a better contextualization of the finds, it is also necessary to examine other case studies relating to the Jordanian territory, in particular Tall Al ‘Umayrī and Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah.

The EB II–III City of KHirbat Al Batrāwī (Jordan) and the “Palace of the Copper Axes”

The site of KHirbat Al Batrāwī is located near Wādī Az Zarqā’, about 35 km north of Amman, above a cliff naturally defended on three sides by rocky overhangs and accessible from the northeastern side (FIG. 1). This cliff overlooks the valley below and especially its northern entrance to the Jordan Valley.

On this site, a fortified Early Bronze Age III city of about 4 ha was found by the University of Rome La Sapienza, extending over the entire *KHirbah*. This city was born towards the end of the

Early Bronze Age IB (3200–3000 BC) (TABLE 2) from the nearby concentration of rural villages (Nigro 2010b: 432–433, Nigro 2017: 156) and it was characterized by the construction of a temple on the eastern tip, dominating the valley below. Later, in the Early Bronze Age II (3000–2700 BC) we witness the effective transformation of the site into an urban city, when fortifications were built along the outlines of the *KHirbah*, with stone foundations and mudbrick superstructures (Nigro 2006, 26–29, 30–36, 153–223, Nigro 2007: 349–357, Nigro 2008: 65–125, Nigro 2009: 663–664; Nigro 2012: 32–37). In the north-western sector, a palatial building was established, the so called “Palace of the Copper Axes”, which was later extended towards the walls, in particular towards the Main City Gate (Nigro 2008: 83–86). During the Early Bronze Age III, the city reached its maximum splendor, with a complex system of fortifications (Nigro 2012: 13–30) and the main productive activities and goods concentrated in the “Palace of the Copper Axes” (Nigro 2016: 149–152). The imports and the luxury findings coming from the “Palace of the Copper Axes” (as, for example, the cachette of copper axes from which the Palace got its name: Nigro 2016) testify that the city was at the center of a network of commercial relations with countries such as Egypt and Syria (Nigro *et al.* 2020).

Towards the end of the Early Bronze Age III (*ca.* 2300 BC) the city was destroyed by a catastrophic event and subsequently, in the Early Bronze Age IVB the *KHirbah* was re-occupied by a rural village which continued until the end of the third millennium BC.

Tokens from the “Palace of the Copper Axes”

A total of ninety-eight Typology B.1 counting tools (pottery discs) were found at the site of KHirbat Al Batrāwī, dated to the Early Bronze Age III and Early Bronze Age IVB. The highest concentration was found in the Early Bronze III strata of Area B South, in the “Palace of the Copper Axes” (FIG. 2). The second biggest concentration is found in the Early Bronze IV strata of the same area, in the Early Bronze III–IV abandonment layer and in the Early Bronze IVB leveling layer.

Other types of counters found are five stone pebbles with rounded (C.1.a), discoidal (C.1.c), and trapezoidal/domed (Type C.1.d) shapes and five pierced/worked shells of species *Acanthocardia tuberculata*/*Cerastoderma edule*: however, due to their low concentration and other factors, it is not possible to establish with certainty their use as counters. Furthermore, the concentration and arrangement of the perforated shells leads to the assumption of an interpretation as decorative objects and or perhaps necklaces.

The analyses of findings and the installations from the excavated quarter of the “Palace of the Copper Axes” indicate that these rooms had the function of warehouses for primary (grains, oil, water) and luxury goods, such as palettes and bear skins, and raw materials or imported goods, such as ocher. A total of thirty-three ceramic discs were found inside the “Palace of Copper Axes” between 2010 and 2019 (also two more in 2009, Nigro 2012: pls. LXXXVII:KB.09.B.81, XCI:KB.09.B.82). Twenty-three discs have a simple surface (Typology B.1.a); ten have a pierced surface (Typology B.1.b) and two have

Table 3. Measurement of the pottery disks found in the “Palace of the Copper Axes” at KHirbat Al Batrāwī.

Chronology	B South Phases	N° tokens	Measurements			
			Diameter (cm)		Thickness (cm)	
EB IIIb	3a	10 (+1)	4.05/2.5	6.4/5.25– 4.55/5.1–3.7/4.1	0.82	0.8/1–1.4–2.63
	3b	25 (+1)		21.5/10.3–6.8– 5.6/2.8		1.6/1.2–1/0.8–0.4/0.5
	3c	3		5.8/3.7		1.8/1.1
	3d	-				

a punctuated surface (Typology B.1.c). All the discs have been hammered from walls of Simple Ware and Storage Ware. Sometimes these discs show a combed surface, but a selection of the wares to create these tools has not been identified, as it has for the discs from KHirbat Az Zayraqūn (Genz 2002: pls. 139: 4–5, 10).

Examining the diameters of the pottery discs (TABLE 3) found in the “Palace of Copper Axes”, two main concentrations can be observed: the first is characterized by a diameter between 6.8 and 3.7 cm; the second by a diameter greater than 10 cm. Most of the discs found in the Palace belong to the first group, while the largest pottery discs come only from rooms L.1120 and L.1110, identifying a precise distribution of this tools based on size.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the Type B counters inside the “Palace of the Copper Axes” are often distributed in pairs near the walls or entrances, and three clusters can be identified (FIG. 3): one in the Pillared Room L.1040 (six discs), one in the Court L.1110 (ten discs) and one in the room L.1340 (four discs). In addition, another concentration of four pottery disc counters was found in Silos W.135, in the nearby Building B2. The objects and pottery found in the same silos clearly indicate that it is a waste context when the main

use of the silos ended.

In the Pillared Hall L.1040, six simple ceramic discs were found (FIG. 4), all found in pairs or very close to each other: four along the northern wall of the room, mixed with the ceramic finds, and two others next to the western entrance (L.1150) of the room. Most of the pottery found in this room are jars and pithos: however, the discs’ diameter is smaller than that of the storage vessels and no other discs of different size have been found nearby. The only vessels whose mouth diameter can be associated with these discs’ diameter are two Red Burnished jugs found in the same context: however, on the one hand none of the discs has been found in direct association with any jug; on the other, it appears unusual that careful manufacturing is dedicated to the vessels and not to their probable lids.

Inside the rooms L.1110 and L.1120, a total of four ceramic discs has been found, two perforated discs and a simple one in L.1120, and a simple disc in L.1110. The discs were found scattered, not associated with any vessel or object. Additionally, they all have a diameter between 10 and 21cm, which makes them a distinct group from the average diameter found in Batrawy.

In the entrance courtyard L.1100, a total of ten ceramic discs were found, eight with a simple surface and two

Table 4. Stratigraphy of Tall Al ‘Umayrī and Area D.

Historical Period	Tall Al ‘Umayrī Periods	Area D Phases
Early Bronze Age IB	21	Scattered sherds
Early Bronze Age II	20	FP 7
Early Bronze Age III	19	FP 6
		FP 5
		FP 4
Early Bronze Age III/IV	18-17	FP 3
		FP 2
Roman–Islamic Period	3–1	FP 1

perforated. They were all found in a dispersed distribution, even if they are mostly concentrated in the central-western sector of the courtyard and in the north-eastern corner: these finds can be associated with the two largest concentrations of pottery found inside the same courtyard (F.1102, F.1324, and F.1327)

In room L.1340 the third concentration of pottery discs was found, two with a simple surface, one perforated and one pointed, with a distribution very similar to the Pillared Hall L.1040.

The Jordanian Comparisons

Tall Al ‘Umayrī

At the site of Tall Al ‘Umayrī, a concentration of simple pottery discs (Type B.1.a) was found in a context of Stratum 7 in Area D, dated to the final phase of Early Bronze Age II (TABLE 4). The settlement of Tall Al ‘Umayrī during the Early Bronze Age II–III is concentrated on the northern and southern sides of the *tall* (respectively areas C and D and some minor evidence in Area G, where some probes revealed terracing belonging to Early Bronze Age III [Fisher 1997]). During this period, Tall Al ‘Umayrī is a large non-fortified village, in which a residential neighborhood was found in Area D, made up of houses with annexed work areas, separated by streets and alleys.

In the domestic neighborhood of Phase 7 of Area D a total of twelve ceramic discs with a simple surface (Typology B.1.a) were found (FIG. 5), mainly concentrated in a single context. It is a series of rooms and open spaces found in squares 6K06-6K07-5K96-5K97 and interpreted by archaeologists, based on the findings, as a sector dedicated to the production, consumption, and storage of food resources at a domestic level, with a waste disposal area in 5K96:18 (Daviau 1991)⁵. This area is characterized by a series of smaller rooms (Rooms 3, 4, and 5) which overlook a large open space

⁵ All the rooms are characterized by a major presence of big, closed shapes for preservation (pithoi, jars and hole-mouth jars, with a frequency of 58.15%), both in specialized and simple wares. The second-biggest concentration are the open tableware shapes. The most common production is represented by Storage Ware, followed by Simple Ware and Red Slip Ware. In particular, potsherds were mainly concentrated in Room 3 + Room 4 and in the eastern courtyard opposite, while in Rooms 1, 2, 3, and 5 the frequency decreases considerably. In the Eastern Courtyard, a cobblestone surface, several traces of hearths and two large pithoi were found in place and, within one of the pithoi, a concentration of 4,000 legumes, probably lentils (Daviau 1991: 105), was found. Small finds and faunal remains are mainly concentrated in Rooms 1, 3–4 and in the Eastern Courtyard. Flint tools are attested in big quantities, even if no precise tools have been identified, except in Room 1. Other objects found consist of a fair amount of stone tools for grinding in Rooms 1 and 3–4. The faunal remains consist mainly of goats and large mammal bones.

with installations, and probably belong to the same building complex as rooms 1 and 2, even if thresholds have not been found. South of the large open space, a natural step of about 3 meters separates these rooms from another complex of three buildings, also interpreted as storage processing rooms for agricultural materials⁶. The material culture of this area indicates a final period of the Early Bronze II, during which typical production of the Ancient Bronze III begins to appear; however, the architectural structures do not yet assume the complexity of the full Early Bronze III (Harrison 1997: 113–174).

In Room 3 and in the open space immediately in front of it, a total of eleven ceramic discs were discovered, belonging to four different floors of Phase 7 (two in 5K96:19, one in 5K96:18, five in 5K96:17-28-29 and two in 5K96:14). Another pottery disc, from the same phase, was found in open space 6K0728, but other items are missing in other parts of the area. These discs all have a simple surface (Type B.1.a, FIG. 4), with an ovoid shape and dimensions between 3.0 and 4.60cm in diameter (London 1991: 409, not all reproduced). The game pieces found in this area could also be interpreted as counters, however

they were not described in the excavation reports (Daviau 1991: 104). The pottery analysis provides evidence for this interpretation because the diameter of the pottery discs is poorly adaptable to the diameter of the closed shapes found in the same context. Furthermore, pottery walls, hammered into circular, triangular, or quadrangular shapes, are attested in Tall Al ‘Umayrī during the Iron Age (London 1991: 415, fig. 21.26).

Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah

The site of Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah is very important for the study of counting tools as it has one of the first documented finds of *Cerastoderma edule* shells used as counters: two deposits of these shells have been identified by archaeologists, one in the “Eastern Complex” of Area BB 700 and one in the “Western Complex” of Area DD.

The Early Bronze Age settlement of Tall As Sa‘īdiyyah was identified only in the lower tell (FIG. 6), in areas BB, DD, CC⁷, JJ, and NN, for an area estimated at around 0.3 square hectares. It was a fortified urban settlement dating to the end of the Early Bronze Age I and Early Bronze Age II, as evidenced by the traces of fortification walls in the northern, southern, and western areas (for Area JJ see Tubb, Dorrell, and Cobbing 1996: 23–24; for Area NN see Tubb, Dorrell, and Cobbing 1997: 65–66). The main settlement belongs to levels L3 and L2.

The settlement of layer L2 was characterized by a well-designed and built plan, which occupied the entire lower tell and was surrounded by a fortification wall built in Early Bronze Age Ib

⁶ Based on the architecture and the analysis of the materials found, the features belonging to Phase 6 of the squares 5K86-5K87-5K76-5K77 seem to belong to Phase 7. This interpretation is based on the elevation (there is a difference of 3/4 meters, due to a terrace between the squares 5K96-97 and 5K86-87), and on the architecture and materials: Phase 7 of squares 5K86-5K87-5K76-5K77 shows a mature but not final Early Bronze Age II, testified by the consistent presence of buildings with curvilinear walls and poorly articulated division of the rooms. Analysis of the materials belonging to Phase 6, in particular the shapes of the pithoi and the rims of the hole-mouth jars, shows a greater reference to the Early Bronze Age III pottery, as well as the total absence of painted pottery and the initial presence of open-shape polished vessels.

⁷ In Area CC some mixed layers of potsherds and bones were found belonging to Early Bronze Age I and Late Bronze/Iron Age I. Areas JJ and NN are probes made during the 1995–1996 excavations seasons (Tubb 1988: 68).

(Tubb, Dorrell, and Cobbing 1997: 66)⁸. Two large public buildings have been identified in areas BB and DD, called respectively “Western Complex” and “Eastern Complex” (FIG. 7), and also some domestic sectors, characterized by well-defined architecture, which in various points seems to resume that of the previous layer L3. This layer ends in violent destruction, which allowed a large amount of ceramic and non-ceramic materials to be left in primary deposition.

The analysis of the complexes of Tall As Saʿdiyyah identify them as central public buildings of the EB settlement, in which agricultural products from the surrounding territories were stored and processed. The pottery found in the “scullery” (FIG. 8), a subsidiary room inside the Eastern Complex, leads to the assumption that common meals must also have taken place, a practice also recorded in other settlements such as KHirbat Karak/Bet Yerah (Greenberg 2017). In this case, it is difficult not to assume the existence of an administration or complex supports for resource control such as seals or cretulas, but none of these objects have been found there. However, two large deposits of whole shells of *Cerastoderma edule* were found in two contexts in the Western Complex and in the Eastern Complex, one in Room A of the Western Complex (192 shells) (Bar Yosef Mayer 2007: 198) and one in Room D

of the Eastern Complex (the number of shells is unpublished) (Tubb 1988: 51). The analysis of the contexts has led archaeologists to hypothesize the use of this species of shells for counting tools connected to the production and distribution of olive oil (Tubb and Dorrell 1994: 63; Tubb 1998).

Conclusions

The analysis of the tokens found in the “Palace of Copper Axes” at KHirbat Al Batrāwī identified the best context where these tools can be found. The typical contexts where tokens can be found in the Southern Levant are production/conservation areas (*i.e.*, storerooms and ateliers) and waste areas⁹. As the example of Tall Al ‘Umayrī proves, these kinds of contexts belonged also to big families. Storerooms and waste areas can be found both in cities and in villages, which do not have the same requirements of resource management and administration. The dimensions and the shapes of the pottery discs do not change from KHirbat Al Batrāwī to Tall Al ‘Umayrī, which is not directly connected to the types of pottery vessels, meaning that these tools needed to keep certain physical traits in order to be recognizable by the population.

So, the comparisons between the contexts of KHirbat Al Batrāwī and those from Tall Al ‘Umayrī support the new interpretation of these objects as counters, used as multifunctional tools connected to both administrative and non-economic purposes. The fact that these tools have been found both in palatial and domestic contexts shows that the old theory of D. Schmandt-Besserat is not suitable anymore and it inspires

⁸ The presence of fortification walls dated to Early Bronze Ib is quite rare (Kempinski and Reich 1992: 69) and can cause some perplexity (Herzog 1997; de Miroschedji 2001; Greenberg 2017). However, there are cases of fortifications with thick walls already in Early Bronze Age Ib at Tel Aphek (Kochavi 1975: 13), without the presence of towers. Slightly later fortifications, such as, for example, at Arad (Amiran *et al.* 1978: 11–13) and at Tall Al Fāri’ah North (De Vaux 1962: 223) already reach a thickness bigger than that at Tall As Saʿdiyyah.

⁹ According to D. Schmandt-Besserat, tokens can be found in tombs. In the Southern Levant, few traces have been found in the necropolis of Tall As Sulṭān/Jericho (Kenyon 1960: 134–135).

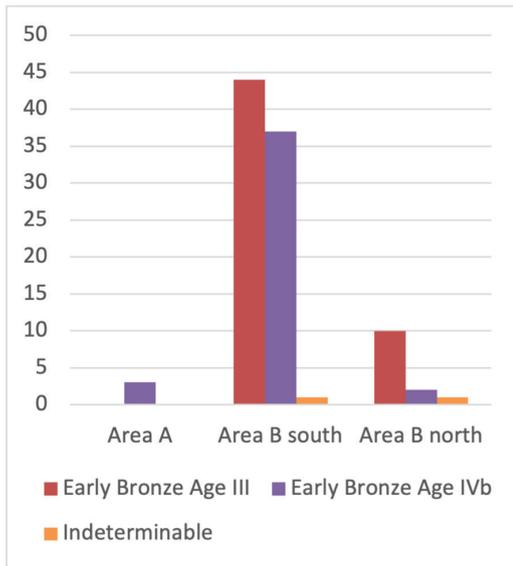
the adoption of the new interpretation of tokens given by L. Bennis-Chapman.

The shell deposit of Tall As Sa'idiyyah is a good example of a context that determines where shells were used as counting tools: because of this comparison, the number of the shells found in the Palace of the Copper Axes cannot be considered big enough to interpret them as counters. That said, the use of shells as counting tools seems to have been a practice common in the Southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age II, based on the compari-

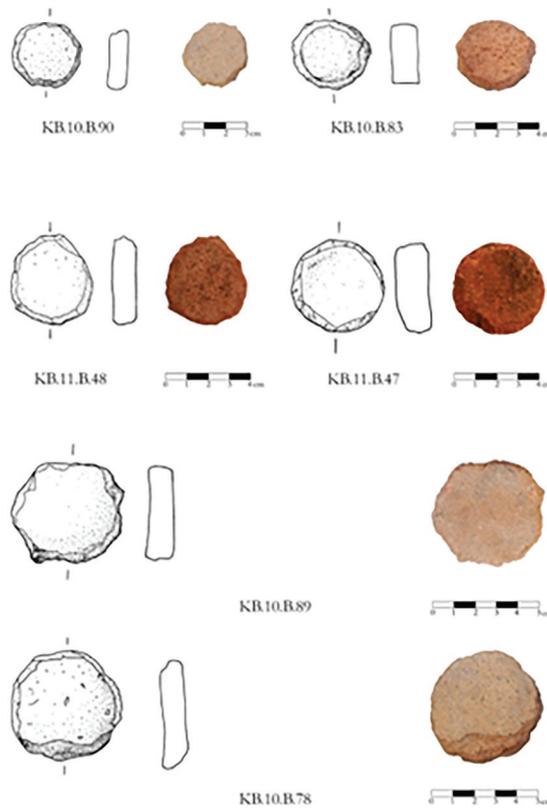
sons from Tall As Sultān/Jericho (Nigro 2010a: 78) and Qyriat Ata (Reese 2003; Ktalav 2014: 60–61).

This study confirmed that in the Southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age I–III there were at least two systems (pottery discs and shells) for organizing and managing resources and possessions that did not directly involve the use of writing; methods so effective as to have allowed the development of urban centers with public management, even without the use of raw clay tablets or scribes.

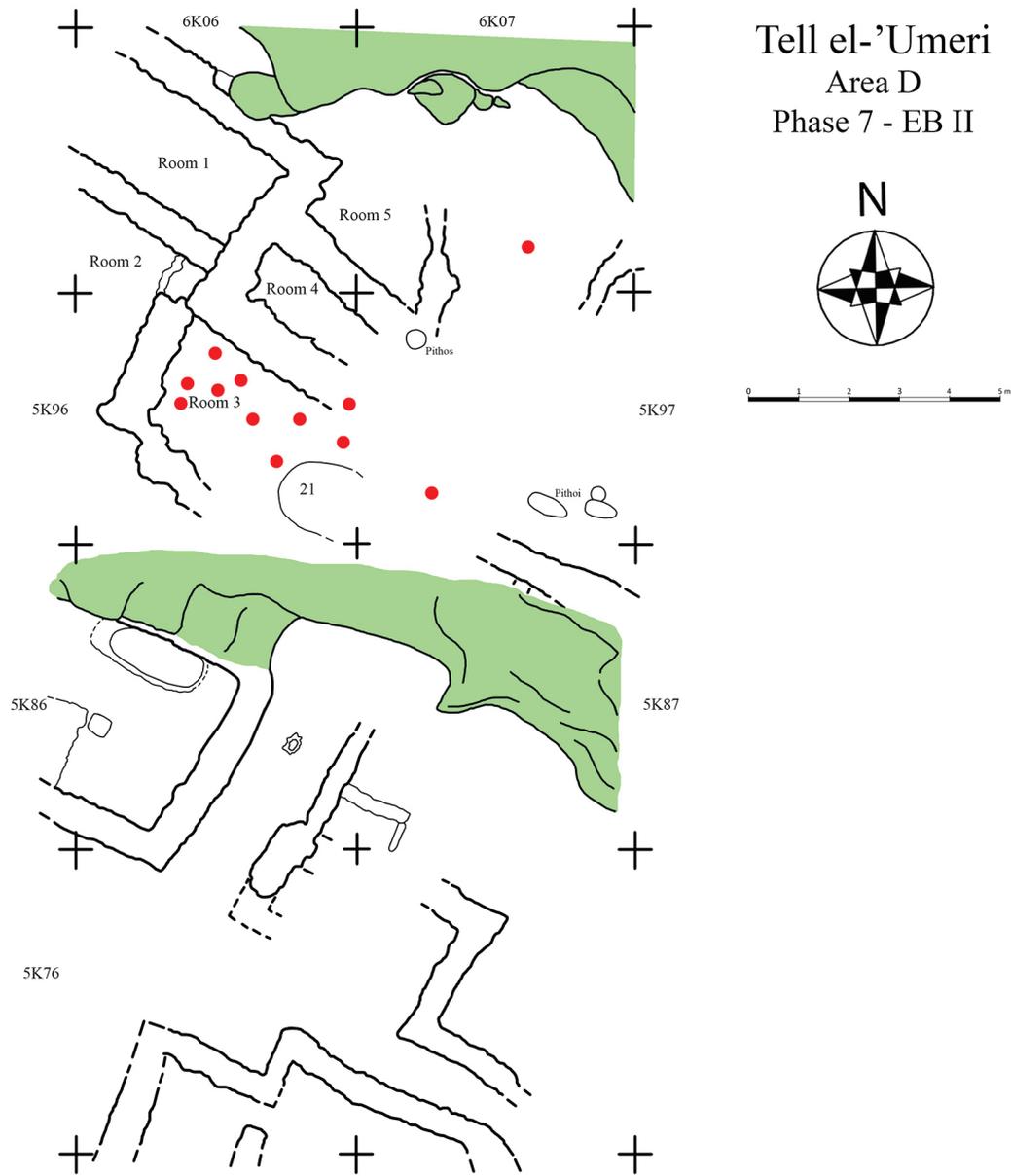
TOKENS AND COUNTERS FROM EARLY BRONZE AGE JORDAN



2. Distribution of the pottery discs in the site of KHirbat Al Batrawi.

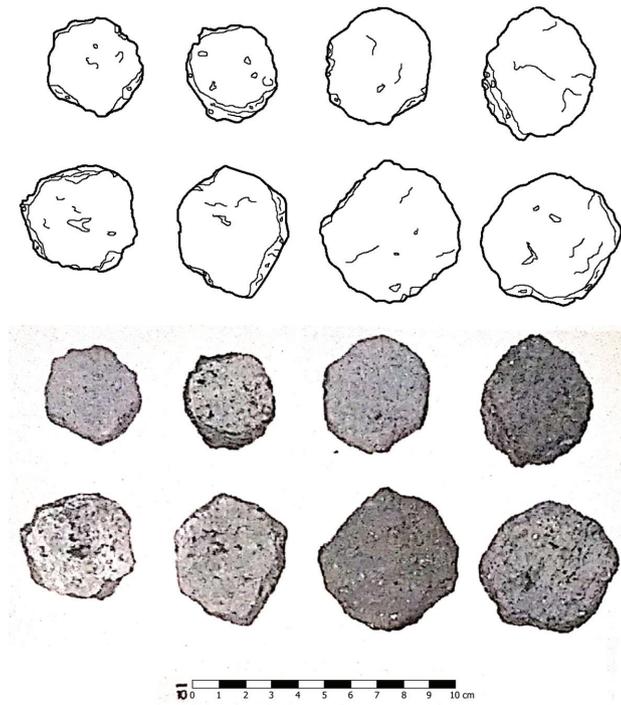


3. Pottery discs found in the Pillared Hall of the “Palace of the Copper Axes” at KHirbat Al Batrawi (image courtesy of Rome La Sapienza Expedition to Palestine and Jordan).

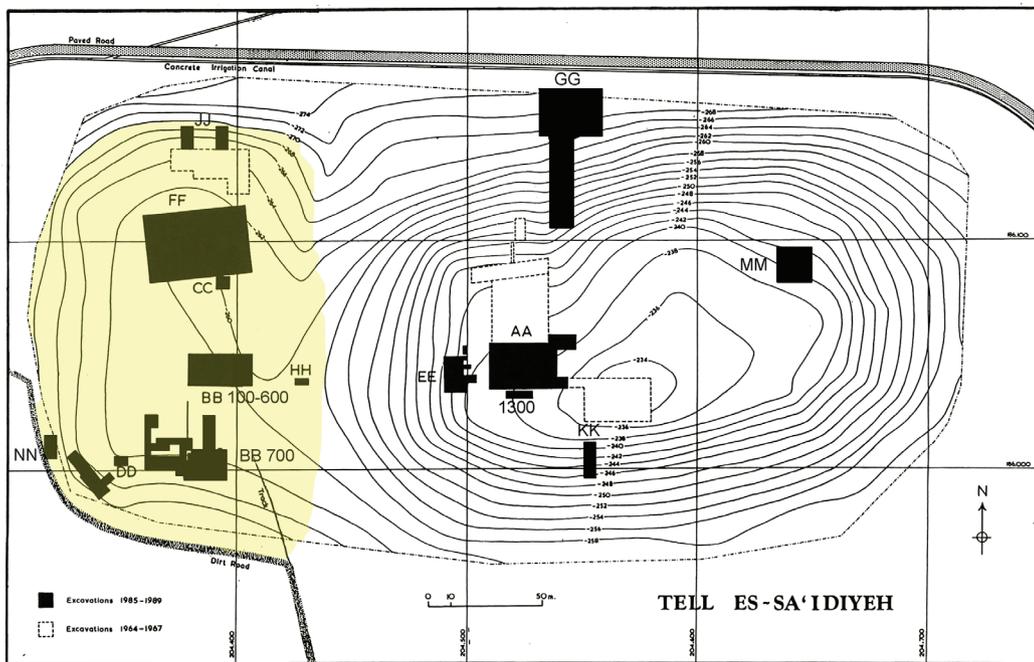


4. Distribution of counters in Area D during the Early Bronze II (Stratum 7) in the site of Tall Al 'Umayrī (modified plan from Daviau 1991 and Harrison 1997).

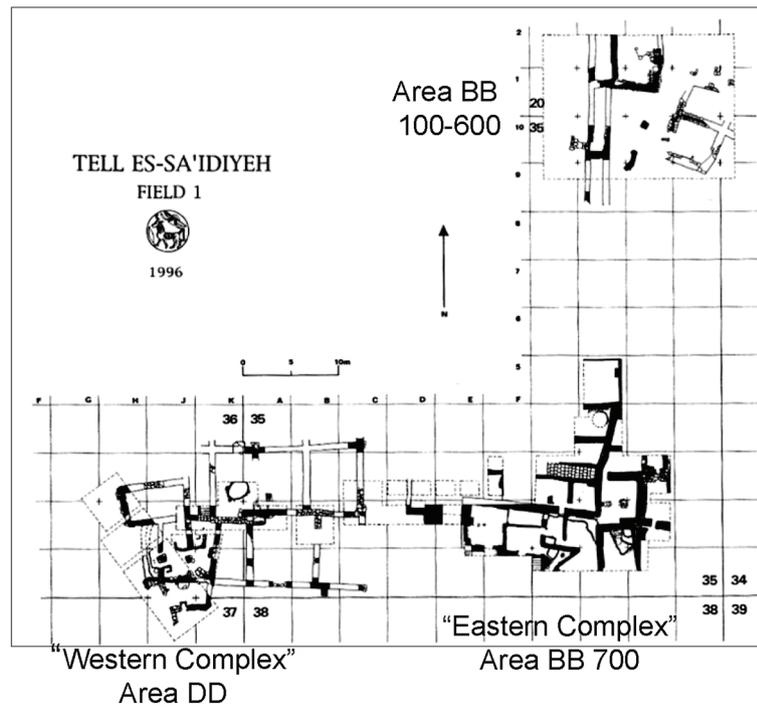
TOKENS AND COUNTERS FROM EARLY BRONZE AGE JORDAN



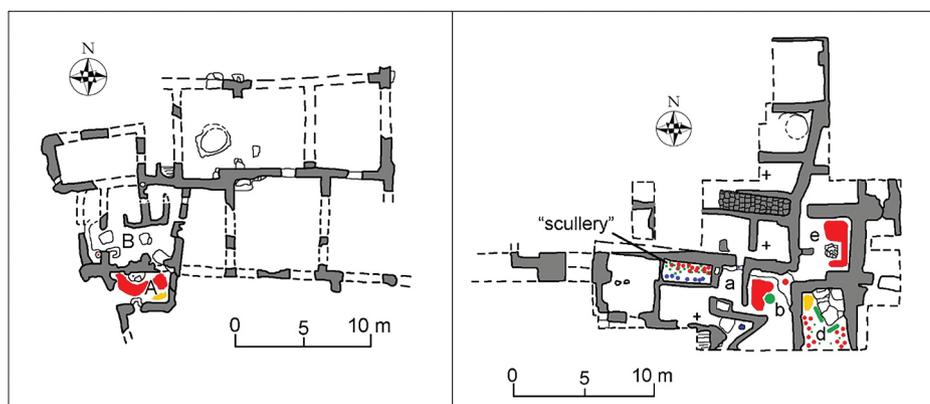
5. Pottery discs found in Stratum 7 of the Area D in Tall Al ‘Umayrī (from London 1991).



6. The excavated areas of Tall As Sa'idiyyah; the estimated area of the Early Bronze Age I-II settlement is highlighted in yellow (from Tubb 1991, 182, fig. 1).



7. The “Western Complex” and the “Eastern Complex” from the L2 stratum, respectively found in areas DD and BB (from Ibrahim 1996, 88, fig. 5).



8. Plans of the “Western Complex” and “Eastern Complex” (Tubb, Dorrell, and Cobbing 1997), with the distribution of the findings published in the excavation reports highlighted: in red the pottery, in blue the objects, and in yellow the deposits of shells (modified plan from Tubb *et al.* 1997).

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